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women supporters, each with her skeins of wool and flying needles, have been doing so most loyally. Their work should find fruition in cordial acceptance by the Navy Department, whether the Navy League officers remain at their posts or not. The Navy League is not a democratic organization, and it is doubtful if its membership has that coherence necessary to the prompt removal of obstructionary officials. Then, too, Colonel Thompson has made the League possible, furnished it the wherewithal to be born and to live, and, besides, he is known to be "a good scout," even if he is now and then a bit choleric and combative. If Secretary Daniels will recognize these patent facts he will assuredly find some way in which to quell the League's abuse without rendering futile the good work that it is doing.

In an interview granted by the Pope to one who is described as "an allied diplomatist and Roman Catholic," which was subsequently cabled to *The Christian Science Monitor*, the Pope stated as his three principal reasons for his appeal for peace:

1. Desire to obtain a seat at the Peace Congress, at which the question of temporal power may be reconsidered by the principal world powers.
2. Fear to offend the powerful German (Roman) Catholics, thereby incidentally giving impetus to the German Modernist School at Munich, which, before the war, had become restive and undisciplined.
3. Fear lest the Austrian Empire, the greatest of Roman Catholic powers, should suffer shipwreck.

If the report of this interview is true and unprejudiced, which there seems to be little reason to doubt, the Pope appears to have been governed two-thirds by fear and one-third by desire for temporal power, which may perhaps explain why his appeal failed of its desired effect.

We have noticed so frequently in the newspapers of late a characterization of the People's Council of America as Noah's dove, that we feel it our duty to inform our readers that the newspapers are wrong. The dove that Noah sent forth from the ark, when she "found no rest for the soul of her foot," returned to the ark and kept quiet. On the second occasion there was no need for a prolonged flight. That which the dove was sent to seek was speedily found. The newspaper headliners have forgotten, furthermore, that the first bird that Noah sent from the ark was not a dove but a raven and that "it went forth to and fro, until the waters were dried up from off the earth." Thus, if the headliner would be strictly accurate, he should refer to the peregrinating P. C. A.'s not as dove-like but ravening.

THE POPE'S TERMS OF PEACE

With the prayer that "God may inspire your decision in conformity with His very Holy Will," His Holiness Pope Benedictus XV, on August 1, virtual third anniversary of the beginning of the European War, following a brief review of the efforts of the Vatican for peace, proposed "to the heads of belligerent people" certain terms on which peace might be consummated at the present time. These, as they appeared in the press translation, are as follows:

FIRST of all, the fundamental points must be that the material force of arms be substituted for by the moral force of right from which shall arise a fair agreement by all for the simultaneous and reciprocal diminution of armament according to the rules and guarantees to be established, in a measure necessary and sufficient for the maintenance of public order in each State.

Then in the substitution for armies, the institution of arbitration with its high pacifying function, according to rules to be laid down and penalties to be imposed on a State which would refuse either to submit a national question to arbitration or to accept its decision.

Once the supremacy of right has thus been established all obstacles to the means of communication of the peoples would disappear by assuring, by rules to be fixed later, the true liberty and community of the seas, which would contribute to the numerous causes of conflict and would also open to all new sources of prosperity and progress.

As to the damages to be repaired and as to the war expenses, we see no other means of solving the question than by submitting as a general principle the complete and reciprocal condonation, which would be justified moreover by the immense benefit to be derived from disarmament, so much so that no one will understand the continuation of similar carnage solely for reasons of an economic order.

If for certain cases there exist particular reasons, they would be deliberated upon with justice and equity, but these pacific agreements with the immense advantages to be derived from them are not possible without a reciprocal restitution of the territory at present occupied.

Consequently on the part of Germany the complete evacuation of Belgium with the guarantee of her full political, military and economic independence, the evacuation of French territory; on the part of other belligerent parties similar restitution of the German colonies.

As regards the territorial questions, as for example, those which have arisen between Italy and Austria and between Germany and France, there is reason to hope that in consideration of the immense advantages of a durable peace with disarmament, the parties in conflict would wish to examine them with a conciliatory disposition, taking into consideration, as we have said formerly, the aspirations of the peoples and the special interests and of the general welfare of the great human society.

The same spirit of equity and justice ought to be followed in the examination of other territorial and political questions, notably those relative to Armenia and the Balkan States and Territories making a part of the ancient kingdom of Poland, whose noble and historical traditions and the sufferings which it has en-

dured, especially during the present war, ought to conciliate the sympathies of nations.

Such are the principal bases whereon we believe the future reorganization of the peoples ought to be built. They are of a nature to render impossible the return of similar conflicts and to prepare a solution of the economic question so important for the future and for the material well-being of all belligerent states.

Therefore, in presenting to you, who direct at this hour the destinies of the belligerent nations, these proposals, we are eager to see them accepted and to see thus the conclusion at an early date of the terrible struggle, which more and more appears a useless massacre.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S REPLY TO THE POPE

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 27, 1917.

To His Holiness Benedictus XV, Pope:

In acknowledgment of the communication of your Holiness to the belligerent peoples, dated August 1, 1917, the President of the United States requests me to transmit the following reply:

Every heart that has not been blinded and hardened by this terrible war must be touched by this moving appeal of his Holiness the Pope, must feel the dignity and force of the humane and generous motives which prompted it, and must fervently wish that we might take the path of peace he so persuasively points out. But it would be folly to take it if it does not in fact lead to the goal he proposes. Our response must be based upon the stern facts, and upon nothing else. It is not a mere cessation of arms he desires; it is a stable and enduring peace. This agony must not be gone through with again, and it must be a matter of very sober judgment what will insure us against it.

His Holiness in substance proposes that we return to the *status quo ante-bellum* and that then there be a general condonation, disarmament, and a concert of nations based upon an acceptance of the principle of arbitration; that by a similar concert freedom of the seas be established; and that the territorial claims of France and Italy, the perplexing problems of the Balkan States, and the restitution of Poland be left to such conciliatory adjustments as may be possible in the new temper of such a peace, due regard being paid to the aspirations of the peoples whose political fortunes and affiliations will be involved.

It is manifest that no part of this program can be successfully carried out unless the restitution of the *status quo ante* furnishes a firm and satisfactory basis for it. The object of this war is to deliver the free peoples of the world from the menace and the actual power of a vast military establishment, controlled by an irresponsible Government, which, having secretly planned to dominate the world, proceeded to carry the plan out without regard either to the sacred obligations of treaty or the long-established practices and long-cherished principles of international action and honor; which chose its own time for the war; delivered its blow fiercely and suddenly; stopped at no barrier,

either of law or of mercy; swept a whole continent within the tide of blood—not the blood of soldiers only, but the blood of innocent women and children also and of the helpless poor; and now stands balked, but not defeated, the enemy of four-fifths of the world.

This power is not the German people. It is the ruthless master of the German people. It is no business of ours how that great people came under its control or submitted with temporary zest to the domination of its purpose; but it is our business to see to it that the history of the rest of the world is no longer left to its handling.

To deal with such a power by way of peace upon the plan proposed by his Holiness the Pope would, so far as we can see, involve a recuperation of its strength and a renewal of its policy; would make it necessary to create a permanent hostile combination of nations against the German people, who are its instruments; and would result in abandoning the new-born Russia to the intrigue, the manifold subtle interference, and the certain counter-revolution which would be attempted by all the malign influences to which the German Government has of late accustomed the world.

Can peace be based upon a restitution of its power or upon any word of honor it could pledge in a treaty of settlement and accommodation?

Responsible statesmen must now everywhere see, if they never saw before, that no peace can rest securely upon political or economic restrictions meant to benefit some nations and cripple or embarrass others, upon vindictive action of any sort, or any kind of revenge or deliberate injury. The American people have suffered intolerable wrongs at the hands of the Imperial German Government, but they desire no reprisal upon the German people, who have themselves suffered all things in this war, which they did not choose. They believe that peace should rest upon the rights of peoples, not the rights of Governments—the rights of peoples, great or small, weak or powerful—their equal right to freedom and security and self-government and to a participation upon fair terms in the economic opportunities of the world, the German people, of course, included, if they will accept equality and not seek domination.

The test, therefore, of every plan of peace is this: Is it based upon the faith of all the peoples involved, or merely upon the word of an ambitious and intriguing Government, on the one hand, and of a group of free peoples, on the other? This is a test which goes to the root of the matter; and it is the test which must be applied.

The purposes of the United States in this war are known to the whole world—to every people to whom the truth has been permitted to come. They do not need to be stated again. We seek no material advantage of any kind. We believe that the intolerable wrongs done in this war by the furious and brutal power of the Imperial German Government ought to be repaired, but not at the expense of the sovereignty of any people—rather a vindication of the sovereignty both of those that are weak and of those that are strong. Punitive damages, the dismemberment of empires, the establishment of selfish and exclusive economic leagues, we deem inexpedient, and in the end worse than futile, no proper